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dropped forward. Moosa ran off, and it is very doubtful, on his own showing, whether the enemy saw him. Meeting the others, who had been warned by the shots, they joined, and all fled to a distance, where they remained concealed until evening, when, returning to seek for the loads they had cast down, and not finding them, they advanced cautiously, and saw the body of their leader where it had fallen, with but one wound in the back of the neck; the upper clothes had been stripped, and everything carried off.

"We are at the mercy of our informants, but they tell a tale such as I believe, for had they invented it they would have made a story more to their credit. Nothing has come to us, not a relic or thing to show, and none but Johanna men have returned; yet I think their position behind, and the fact of their escaping before being seen, may account for this.

"I fear the tale is true, much as I could wish to think it was otherwise.

"You may imagine how I feel, being the first to communicate the sad news regarding my leader, whom I had known, I may say, far more intimately during the Zambesi expedition than any other member of it. On all occasions I was his companion, when there was rough work to do. I could never wish a better leader; and now I often think what might have been the result had there been some one near him to use his rifle with a steady hand, and not stay cowering to see the murder from behind a tree, as did the head Johanna man; true, he could not use his gun, and I believe had no ammunition. I must close, and I wish, in doing so, it were with the hope that all is false; it may be so, I hope indeed it is, but confess it is hope against hope all the while.

"JOHN KIRK."

5. *Results of the Enquiry at Quiloa.*

The following Despatch from Dr. Seward and Letter from Dr. Kirk relate the results of their journey of enquiry to Quiloa:—

"MY LORD,

"Zanzibar, 26th Jan., 1867.

"I have the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of an intention expressed in my last despatch concerning the asserted death of Dr. Livingstone, I have personally made inquiries amongst the traders of Keelwa and Kivingi, and have gathered information there which tends to throw discredit on the statement of the Johanna-men, who allege that they saw their leader dead.

"The evidence of the Nyassa traders strengthens the suspicion that these men abandoned the traveller when he was about to

traverse a Mavite-haunted district, and, for ought they know to the contrary, Dr. Livingstone may yet be alive.

"I purpose sending details by the next mail, and have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) "G. EDWIN SEWARD."

"MY DEAR SIR RODERICK,

"Zanzibar, 28th Jan., 1867.

"We have visited the once famous Quiloa, now a deserted port, with a few wattle-and-daub houses, an Arab fort falling to pieces, and the last remains of the old Portuguese defences. The trade of Quiloa has gone to Kivingi, about 7 miles further north, on the coast where, behind an intricate barrier of reefs, the slave-trade may safely be carried on; for Quiloa is the chief resort of the Nyassa caravans, whose business is in slaves.

"These Arabs and Sowaheli traders have passed even from Zanzibar to Loanda (on the western coast of Africa), and traversed the Lake regions in every direction; but their business is not geography, and it is their interest to give as little information as possible: besides they cannot, if they would, describe a new land. They go for ivory and slaves, and care nothing about lakes and rivers, unless they stand in their way and delay progress. Some caravans follow the same route as that by which Livingstone went to the lake: they even cross it, or rather a marshy creek, at the northern end, where he did; but they avoid the land of the Mavite. From what I know of the lake they cannot pass south; we may conclude that their route is to the north-west, just in the direction required to reach the Tanganyika.

"We may consider it now settled that the Nyassa ends in the tenth degree of south latitude; for Livingstone would not have left that point doubtful: where he crossed in canoes [the lake] was very shallow and narrow; the country was level and marshy, and seemed just like the region to the south, where it ends, and where, yearly with the rise of water in the lake, considerable tracts are flooded. Had Livingstone suspected that this marshy creek came from another lake he would have followed it up. Instead of this he set out seemingly for the rivers which flow to Cazembe, and probably to the Tanganyika.

"From the little heard at Quiloa I can find nothing to encourage us in hope. The story has been confirmed in so far that Livingstone crossed the lake; but if the tale be true, we never shall hear more. It would be easy to send a native to the lake; but no one can pass among the Mavite. We may still hope for letters and even portions

of diary, although I suspect the Arabs have destroyed them, fearing disclosures regarding their atrocities, which are well described by Baker.

“The Lake regions cannot possibly be left as they are: the decisive journey has yet to be accomplished. We know that lakes exist, and a few points on their shores have been seen; but of the Lake regions we know little indeed, when we know not whether the Tanganyika discharges its waters to the north, south, or west. We know not where the Albert Lake extends; the Victoria Nyanza is not the lake figured on the map. Whoever traverses the chain of lakes will find fame with much greater ease than those pioneers who reached their shores and first demonstrated their existence. I believe the best plan would be to traverse Unyamwezi and remain on Tanganyika, which can be examined by boats built of native timber, and native African carpenters may easily be found. The road thither is easy, although long, and at Kazé a dépôt may be formed. The Nyassa Lake I consider disposed of, and a boat on Tanganyika could settle whether the Cazembé streams enter at the south.

“To Sir Roderick Murchison, Bart.”

“J. KIRK.”

The PRESIDENT said he could not, as an old and dear friend of Livingstone, avoid clinging to the hope that he was still alive; and that he might be at this very moment on that Lake Tanganyika which he had gone out to explore. If he only succeeded in passing the narrow tract inhabited by the warlike Mavite, he would be comparatively safe, and so far from the lines of communication that it would be impossible to hear of him for many months, except by the accident of some Arab trader bringing down the intelligence to the coast. It was on this account, and trusting to the last despatch from our Consul, officially reporting what he had heard from the Arab traders as to the untruthfulness of the Johanna men, that he thought there might still be some hopes—he would not say very sanguine hopes—that their illustrious friend was not dead. At all events, they ought, before they decided, to have better evidence than that of these men, all belonging to one tribe, and not, like the negro Africans, attached to Livingstone, but only his baggage-bearers, and in the rear, and who were described as a cowardly race. If any of these negroes, several of whom were said to have escaped, had returned and told the story, they might then believe it. And why should they not have returned, if their leader was dead, as well as the Johanna men? He thought it was their duty to cling to the hope as long as they could, until some more decisive evidence was obtained. Passing from this subject, he hoped the discussion would turn upon the general condition of our geographical knowledge of Africa at this moment, as compared with what was known before the discoveries of Burton and Speke. He had in his hand a document drawn up by Mr. Findlay, in which four stages in our knowledge of the lakes were represented. First, there was the discovery of the Tanganyika Lake by Burton and Speke; then, the discovery of Victoria Nyanza by Speke, and the great journey of Speke and Grant; and, finally, the discovery of the Albert Nyanza by Sir Samuel Baker—a discovery which had led to the idea of Tanganyika Lake having a communication with the Albert Nyanza. The great object of Livingstone's journey was to reach the northern end of Tanganyika, and solve that

problem completely. In hoping most ardently that Livingstone had escaped, they would see what a wide field of exploration was open to him. It was upon this feature of the question that he wished the discussion to turn.

Sir SAMUEL BAKER said the news of Livingstone's death lay so heavily upon his mind that he could not speak of the lake system of Africa without first expressing his opinion respecting the fate of the great traveller. From his personal experience in Africa, of nearly five years, he was compelled to differ in opinion from the President. For his part he felt perfectly certain, from the evidence that had been laid before them, that they should see Livingstone's face no more. To him, who knew the native character, which was the same—exceedingly brutal and savage—throughout Africa, it was no wonder that Livingstone was killed: it was only a wonder that one man out of a hundred ever returned from that abominable country. The death of Livingstone had given a check to African exploration, and he felt perfectly convinced that for a long time to come the centre of Africa would be closed to us. Although we had done much, still we knew but little. We knew that lakes existed, but we had not been able to explore well any one of them. We had reached certain lakes, still their extent was perfectly vague. He felt certain that no individual enterprise would ever open Africa, except to this extent,—that an unfortunate traveller, weary and toilworn, might return to the Geographical Society and state with all humility the little that he had done. With regard to Livingstone, he was perfectly convinced that, as Baron von der Decken and Dr. Roscher had been killed, and Mrs. Livingstone had left her bones in Africa, so Livingstone had fallen a sacrifice; and although they could not erect a monument to his memory on the place where he fell, yet his name would live in their hearts as that of a man who had nobly done his duty. Returning to the lake system of Africa, the only question of importance at the present moment was whether the Tanganyika Lake were really the head-water of the Nile, by means of a communication with the Albert Nyanza. He did not share in the opinion of Mr. Findlay on this subject. It was impossible to know anything that existed in Central Africa until we explored it personally. There were people in England who talked about the source of the Nile and the Niger and other rivers, who would have more hesitation in expressing an opinion upon the sources of the Severn and the Thames. His own opinion was, from the altitudes he took, that there is a ridge on the equator in Africa, about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, with a northern and southern watershed; and that the great rivers of Africa have their source in these great high lands. To the north there will be the Nile, which flows into the Mediterranean; to the west the Niger flowing into the Atlantic; and to the south there will be the Zambesi on one side, and the Congo on the other. With regard to the supposed connection between the Tanganyika and the Albert Nyanza, they could adduce proofs against the theory by comparing the altitudes of the two lakes. On the north the Albert Nyanza is 2700 feet above the sea; on the south the Tanganyika, according to the altitude given by Burton and Speke, is only 1840 feet: therefore, if those altitudes were correct, the question was settled against the Tanganyika having any connection with the Albert Nyanza. On the other hand, he must confess that he shared very much the opinion of Mr. Findlay, that the altitude of Lake Tanganyika, taken with a bad thermometer, could not be depended upon. As the question rested in that uncertain state, and Speke and Livingstone and all the travellers had done their best, he would suggest that there was plenty of room for those who adhered to theories to carry them out by personal investigation; and he hoped that not only would there be an expedition to discover what had become of Livingstone, but expeditions also to ascertain the truth of this theory as to the connection between the two lakes. He should only be too happy to take charge of one of them.

The PRESIDENT observed that there were some points connected with our knowledge of the African interior which Sir Samuel Baker had not alluded to. It was well known to geographers that, far to the south of the country which Sir Samuel Baker had explored, Portuguese subjects had traversed those regions more than once or twice, and they had been traversed besides by numerous native traders. He wanted to recall the attention of the meeting to the possibility of Livingstone having got upon one of those routes which the Portuguese followed, either between Tete on the Zambesi and Cazembe, or the slave-route between Quiloa and the far interior. Now if Livingstone be once far advanced on these routes, what difficulty was there in his going forward in safety to Cazembe? They had no evidence to rest upon, he repeated, but that of the Johanna men, and, until they had better evidence, he never would believe that Livingstone was dead. He would not, therefore, put the Society into mourning for the death of Livingstone. He would still cling to those rays of hope which the last despatch from Dr. Seward at Zanzibar justified.

Mr. J. CRAWFURD was sorry he felt obliged to agree with Sir Samuel Baker and to differ from the President. It would have been very satisfactory if they had had the actual depositions of these Johanna people. They were said to be cowardly, but they were not more cowardly than the Sepoys, who ran away long before the massacre occurred. They were said to be liars, but there were many of the same description in their part of the world. Seventy years ago, Sir William Jones gave a very favourable description of these people in the 'Asiatic Transactions.' They would observe that the last despatch, in which was expressed the hope that Livingstone was alive, was by Dr. Seward, the Acting Resident at Zanzibar. Now, Dr. Kirk, a friend of Livingstone, a man who had travelled in the interior, and who was better able to judge than Dr. Seward, expressed no hope whatever in his letter of the very same date.

Mr. HORACE WALLER said he was with Dr. Livingstone many months in Africa on the River Shiré, and knew many of these people whose names had been mentioned to the meeting. He had met with men of the Mavite tribe. They are a terror to the Portuguese; and although Dr. Kirk imagined that they crossed to the northward of the Zambesi forty years ago, he was led to believe that this particular band, who were killing everybody right and left throughout the country, only crossed in 1856. It had been stated in the public papers that Dr. Livingstone, before he struck the lake, had been in collision with the slave-dealers. He had the pleasure of telling them, from letters he had received within the last few days from Zanzibar, that Livingstone had not been in collision at all with the slave-dealers. As to Ali Moosa, he knew him very well; he was the head of these twelve Johanna men; but he was thoroughly untruthful, and would lie through thick and thin whenever it answered his purpose. Moosa was a man he would not place confidence in at all. But Dr. Kirk had been there: he knew Moosa, and he knew all the men; and he was the most likely man of all who had been upon that coast to come to a sound conclusion. He must say he placed faith in the sagacity of Dr. Kirk, and whatever opinion Dr. Kirk entertained with regard to the fate of Livingstone he must entertain. He would add, that one of the two African boys supposed to have fallen with Livingstone was reported to be in safety, having left the expedition when it reached the shores of Nyassa. These boys, in common with many others who were now at the Cape, were amongst those negroes who had been liberated by Livingstone from the slave-dealers in 1861, and they had always shown the greatest regard and affection for the Doctor. He had received a letter from Zanzibar within the last few days, telling him that one of these boys, in crossing the north end of Lake Nyassa, had met with some of his tribe and with one of his sisters—from whom he had been separated since 1860—and the boy remained behind. This was about five days prior to the murder. The other boy, of whose bravery he could personally speak, fell fighting

by his master's side. Ali Moosa, when on his way back from the spot where Livingstone was killed, saw this boy again on the shores of the lake. Now, it had occurred to him that if any inquiry was to be set on foot, this boy would be a most valuable help, for he spoke and wrote English, and respected English people. With regard to the Mavite, they were a lawless set; but he doubted whether they would be antagonistic to the incoming of white strangers, because they are not in league with slave-dealers at all. When Livingstone met with them on his previous journey, they were the terror of the whole country; but, upon his men speaking to them in the Zulu language, they made off and did not molest him. Therefore, he could not conceive what object these men would have in attacking Livingstone, unless they had been bought over by the slave-dealers or influenced by them. Sir Samuel Baker had indulged in a gloomy foreboding that, with the fall of Livingstone, the interior of Africa would be closed. For his part he had no fear that Africa would remain the *terra incognita* it had been in past ages. Let them—and it was the moral to the story—determine to deal with what was the real curse of that country, and the real danger to exploration. It was the slave-trade. He had lived for three or four years in the midst of the most terrible scenes that it was possible to imagine. At the present moment there was a slave-trade going on there that was little known. Colonel Rigby and Colonel Playfair had told him that 25,000 slaves passed through Zanzibar in the course of the year. With the slave-trade thus flourishing, they could imagine what a difficult task it was for the traveller to pass through the country. It was this difficulty which Livingstone had dogged his steps and thwarting his brave efforts; and, if he has fallen, he has fallen in facing an enemy that he has always faced, and which he struck when he first knew the Zambesi.

Captain SHERARD OSBORN said he thought the arguments used by Sir Samuel Baker against theorising with regard to the lakes of Central Africa, were perfectly applicable to the question of whether Livingstone were alive or dead. Our data in both cases were very imperfect. The fate of Livingstone at this moment was remarkably analogous to that of Franklin in 1848. Franklin was missing, and there were plenty of people ready to come forward and produce indubitable proofs that Franklin had perished close to the threshold of his work. He and others doubted it strongly; but so fiercely was the question agitated that some of the best and soundest authorities in this country were disposed to relinquish the idea of Franklin's pushing forward then, as he believed poor Livingstone might be pushing forward now. He held that they, as members of the Geographical Society, should act upon the broad principle that, until they had positive proof of the death of Livingstone, or any other explorer, it was their duty not to cease their efforts to rescue them. If it were easy for the slave-trader and the missionary to traverse Africa, he maintained that other men could penetrate to Lucenda and see if Livingstone had left that place in safety, and bring back any papers he might have left there. If Livingstone had fallen, he believed that the efforts made to solve the mystery of his death would lead in all probability to the clearing up of the mystery of the African Lake regions, just as the problem of the northern Polar regions had been solved in the search for Franklin.

Mr. BAINES said, as one who had been with Livingstone eighteen months in Africa, he wished to bear testimony to his perseverance and ability as an explorer. With regard to his reported death, he himself had been reported dead, and in 1860 or 1861 it was stated that Dr. Livingstone had been killed; but the editor of the Cape paper added very sensibly that Dr. Meller, who brought down the letters had previously been reported dead, and had come out alive. Mr. Baines said he did not give up hope; at the same time he had very great fear, founded on the conclusion Dr. Kirk had come to, who would not be easily deceived by the natives.

The PRESIDENT, in concluding the discussion, said he was glad to find that

gentlemen well acquainted with parts of the region recently explored, had, as well as himself, a hope that Livingstone might be still alive. Although it was a ray of hope only, they would, he was sure, agree with him that an expedition should be sent out to clear up this painful question. Until that was done, he (the President) should remain in doubt as to the death of the great explorer.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

(Printed by order of Council.)

1. *Notes on Rangoon.*

[Extract of a Letter from Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN to Mr. JOHN FLEMING, dated Rangoon, 15th Feb., 1867.]

"It would appear that Moulmein has been going down the hill in importance, or at least that Rangoon is so fast advancing in prosperity and importance that Moulmein has already become quite subsidiary to it. The position and accessories of the two ports quite explain this. Rangoon is on a magnificent river, with no difficulties of navigation, communicating direct with the frontier of British Burmah, and thence with the capital and most important provinces of Burmah Proper. It is the outlet, in fact, of the whole country: its rise has been most remarkable. In 1852 it was nothing, and now it is a large and flourishing city with 60,000 to 70,000 inhabitants, and is still steadily extending. It is the head-quarters of the rice-trade (Bassein being so near, only some two or three days' journey through the creeks, can easily be worked as a subsidiary to it), and must be the outlet of all the produce of Burmah Proper, when it comes in course of time to be developed. At present there is a temporary check to the prosperity of Burmah generally, owing to the unsatisfactory state of matters in the King's territory (or Burmah Proper). His oppressions, extortions, and cruelties, have reached such a point as thoroughly to incense the people against him. There has already been a serious rebellion, and though it has been for the time quelled, yet the universal opinion is that things are rapidly working up towards another and more serious outbreak; and it seems more than probable that ere long our interference, and probably the annexation of the whole country, may become an imperative necessity. It would appear that the Burmese would hail such a result with delight, as they can contrast the state of matters in British Burmah with that in Upper Burmah. They are a most intelligent race of people, and what little one sees of them on a short visit like mine, impresses one most favourably with them in contrast with the natives of India. Though Bhoodists, they seem utterly without the prejudices, or at least the narrowness of mind, of our natives. They have a complete national system of education, every boy being obliged by their law to reside for three years in a kyoung, or religious house, where they serve the poonghies or priests, and are educated by them in reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, as well as in religious knowledge. The system is a very wise one. The priests, of whom there are vast numbers, live in the kyoungs; they are celibates, and I believe, as a rule, very chaste. They never handle money, and are supposed never to see it. Each morning they, and the boys in their charge, go round the village, and at each house get a portion of rice and other food ready cooked, on which they and the boys live.